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commonweal

Spring Education Issue

JAMES V. SCHALL

The Monastery, University And City

needed: a return to the contemplative life

WOMEN & ABORTION

an exchange with reply by Mary Daly

PRIESTS IN SEARCH OF AN ISSUE

LAURENCE MADDOCK

THE END OF SCHOOL R[illegible]

MAURICE R. BERUBE

'POWER TO (SOME) PE[illegible]

MICHAEL NOVAK

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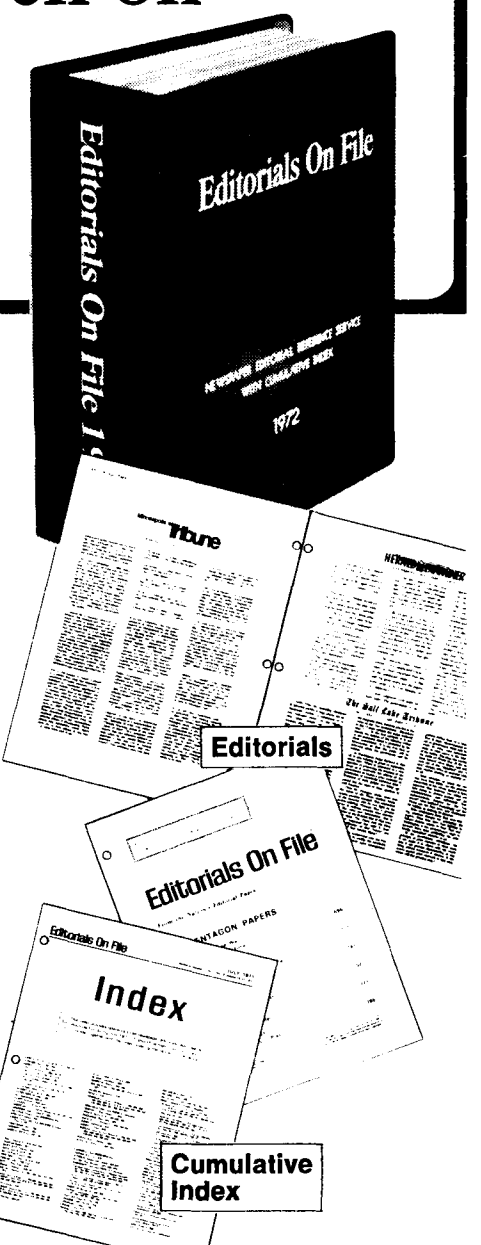

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NEWS & VIEWS

Tax Deductible, Also

As far as I can tell, it was only the *Providence Journal* that made a major point about how International Telephone and Telegraph handled on its books the $100,000 that went through ITT's Sheraton subsidiary for the Republican National Convention in San Diego.

It was treated as "an ordinary and necessary business expense," the *Journal* discovered, and was claimed for 1971 tax purposes.

Which is getting double value for one's money, if as seems likely, the money was also intended to help secure a favorable out-of-court settlement of an anti-trust action against ITT.

Political contributions are, of course, not tax-deductible, but a 1955 IRS ruling allows contributions to committees organized to attract national conventions. That's how the $100,000 apparently qualifies. The IRS ruling says such a payment is deductible as an "ordinary and necessary business expense, *provided such contribution is made with reasonable expectation of financial return commensurate with the amount of the contribution.*"

Considering that the $100,000 was merely one-fourth the amount that was to go to the Republicans, ITT must have been figuring a supercolossal convention for its new Sheraton Harbor Island Hotel.

The *Providence Journal* consulted a tax expert, and was told that even apart from the anti-trust business, the ITT-Sheraton accounting procedure skirts the issue of whether a hotel promotional expense can be capitalized. "On the one hand," said its story, "the company might seek to capitalize the expense over the life of the asset . . . On the other hand, the Tax Court has ruled in one case that it is so difficult to determine the life of a promotional expense that it can't be capitalized—can't be tax deductible."

"Instead," commented the *Journal*, "Sheraton calls the contribution an ordinary business expense, and deducts the full amount from gross revenue."

Pressed by *Journal* reporter Donald Breed, a Sheraton spokesman remarked that he hoped there was no misunderstanding that the $100,000 was being claimed as a charitable donation.

Senate Absenteeism

In case you missed it, Senate absenteeism, forever a problem but especially in an election year, cost the country the bill which would have nationalized and simplified voter registration, by making registration possible via postal card.

The bill was saved once by parliamentary maneuver, when Senate Democrat leaders, noting the absence of 15 Democrats (as against only four Republicans) adjourned hastily, thus avoiding vote on a motion that would have returned the bill to committee and quiet death.

A week later the bill came up again for action. Twelve Senators were absent, 10 of whom were Democrats with eight of the 10 supporting the bill. The bill lost 46-42 to a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats (who, of course, are not at all anxious to see voter registration made easy and convenient).

Among the absentees: Humphrey, Jackson and Muskie. Muskie had issued a statement the week before urging speedy enactment of the legislaton.

Women's Lib & Judaism

Religious feminists are not unique to Christian churches. There are stirrings now within Judaism.

Ten young Jewish women recently confronted the meeting in New York of the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly on the issue of equality for women in Judaism.

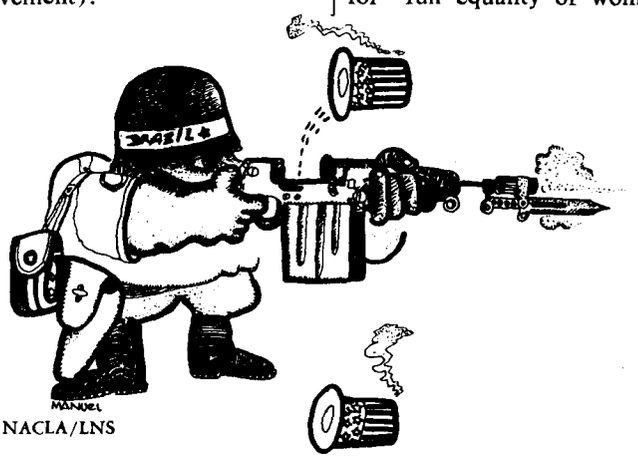
The women did not get far with the Assembly (they were denied permission to speak at the five-day conference), but the media heeded, notably the *New York Post*.

The *Post* featured an article outlining grievances: Jewish women may not be rabbis or cantors; may not be counted toward a minyan (the group of 10 persons necessary for formal prayer services); may not be recognized as witnesses within Jewish law or initiate divorce; often must sit apart from men in synagogues "lest their voices and appearance distract the men from prayer." . . . The list of grievances seems as long and legitimate as in the Christian churches.

The New York group has organized under the name Ezrat Nashim, which is a play on words. Ezrat Nashim means both the area reserved for women in synagogues, and also "help for women."

The group's demands are for "full equality of women and men" and "equal opportunity [for women] to express themselves spiritually and intellectually in the synagogue."

"We're directing our demands at the Conservative movement right now," said a Ezrat Nashim member. "But ultimately all of Judaism will have to come around."



NACLA/LNS

Some Defense Dept.

Paragraph 5 from a National Association of Laity press release reporting executive director Joseph O'Donoghue's appearance at the convention in Denver of the National Federation of Priests' Councils:

"In his address O'Donoghue defended the bishops against the criticism recently directed against them by priest-sociologist Father Andrew Greeley, who earlier this month spoke of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy as 'morally, intellectually and religiously bankrupt.' 'Expecting a bishop to be a moral, intellectual and religious leader is like expecting a boat to fly,' O'Donoghue remarked."

Odds and Ends

—Washington wags report that there is in formation an "Amnesty Committee for Muskie Supporters." There would be two categories of amnesty: (1) general and complete for rank-and-file Muskie supporters, and (2) conditional amnesty for party officials at all levels who announced support for Muskie months ago on grounds his was a Lincolnesque moral crusade. The latter would be obliged to perform alternative public service for two years in order to regain their credentials as leaders of "the people."

—Harry Golden's prescription for getting out of the busing imbroglio: permit prayers on school buses.

—Last, a New Jersey Democrat: "At least you know where you stand with George Wallace. . . . Knee deep in tar and feathers.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Child-Centered Church?

Raleigh, N.C.

To the Editors: Can it be that the church is losing the younger generation (as noted in "News and Views," Feb. 18) because it has been so children-oriented in the past? The tradition of the American church is one of schools, youth organizations, sacramental processions, etc. Altar boys instead of adult acolytes; younger and younger they served; younger Confirmed; younger finished with most of what the church had any structured activity for. Children grew up and out of the church instead of up and into it.

The children of the church, grown up, were still children and were incapable of responding as the adults to whom Vatican II addressed itself. There were no adults in the church. Now, that older generation of perpetual children have despaired of teaching the new generation—what? how to remain children? Of course the youngsters will have none of it. Small wonder. Let's aim at adults for a change and then encourage the mature to teach the maturing.

(REV.) RODERICK B. O'CONNOR

The Lordstown Line

Chesterfield, Mass.

To the Editors: Russell W. Gibbons' article, "Showdown at Lordstown" [Mar. 31], predicted correctly that a new kind of struggle was in the process of emergence between a new generation of young assembly-line workers and America's automotive giant. The strike that has erupted at the General Motors Vega plant, conducted by rebellious workers who raise such subversive demands as "pride and dignity," is proof positive. Previous conventions of the United Auto Workers have already seen the one-word slogan, "Dignity," raised aloft on placards; GM is countering with charges of "sabotage" against those who demand not just

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LABOR'S WALK-OUT

It is easy enough to understand the frustration that led four of five representatives of labor to walk off the Pay Board. The wages of the working person, however high in individual work categories and however exorbitant in some bargaining encounters, are barely keeping pace with inflation—indeed, are falling behind according to the government's own scales. No matter how the Administration "adjusts" the Consumer Price Index, inflation continues to move ahead at 6 percent a year; the Pay Board's guideline on wage raises, though it admits of exceptions, is pegged at 5.5 percent. No one needs a higher mathematician to tell him where this leaves the worker economically.

By the same token, there was much to feed labor's cynicism that the Pay Board, with its equal division between management, labor and the public, was, if not "stacked" on the side of Administration and business interests, as alleged by labor, then weighted on that side. It is certainly true that labor's third of the Pay Board would have been helped if it included other than the "fat cats" of labor, someone like Cesar Chavez, for instance. But it is no less true that the management group was every bit as "fat cat" and intransigent; at the same time, the public members were not the leaven they could have been if they were more representative of the interests they were supposed to serve. Public representation would have been vastly improved if almost any one of the latter five was swapped for a Ralph Abernathy or a Jesse Jackson.

Finally, labor's disenchantment could only be quickened by the seeming fact that it was only under pressure that the Administration has introduced even the mildest anti-business measures into its wage and price stabilization program. Still fresh is the recollection that business profits were brought within the program only after protests over the investment tax-credits allowed business in the original announcement. And hardly unnoticeable was the fact that it was only after the rumblings of George Meany signaled his imminent resignation from the Pay Board that the Price Commission indicated it was moving against companies whose quarterly reports showed profit margins might be going up as a result of the higher prices-controlled wages situation.

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None of all this was geared, naturally, to inspire labor's confidence, but it does not necessarily follow that labor should have quit the Pay Board on that account. For one thing, by quitting labor provided itself as ready scapegoat for any failures of the Nixon economic stabilization program, immediate or remote. But, more particularly, labor dealt a blow to its own traditions of patience and cooperation. Seven months' time is not sufficiently long participation on the Pay Board, especially if one is prepared to make allowances for the gropings connected with almost any radically new venture. A greater patience seemed incumbent upon labor, since labor was party, if not to the planning, then to the concept. The tripartite arrangement, it will be recalled, was made only upon Mr. Meany's insistence. If it did not work, the challenge was not to seek to wreck the board, but to prod Mr. Nixon into making such replacements as would relieve polarizations and make the three parts more responsive to the common, as distinct from their individual, good.

It is too late for all this now, however. Labor has made its choice, and not just labor but the country must live with it. In this context, Mr. Nixon's decision to continue the Pay Board as a single unit of seven members is wise—though one fears the board will be quickly beset with the same old problems. For there are no new faces on the board, only the five original public members, one of the old management appointees, and Frank E. Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, who represents the narrowest dimension of anyone's interest, including labor's.

Labor's walk-out provided Mr. Nixon the perfect opportunity to rethink and revamp. But he has come up with the same package in only slightly different wrapping. It is not going to be enough, because now more than ever the Pay Board needs a large infusion of public confidence for it to be able to accomplish what it was set up to do. Old faces, Nixon obstinacy and counterpique are not going to inspire that confidence. Nor will Nixon's new "war" on food prices. The best of success here will still leave the wage-earner playing catchup in too many other price areas, and will not dispel the notion that stabilization is being bought with a policy forever considerate of special economic and political interests.

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FEDERATION OF PRIESTS' COUNCILS

A SEARCH FOR ISSUES

The slow-moving meeting of the House of Delegates of the National Federation of Priests' Councils searched for issues in Denver March 13 through 16, but never really found any to ignite the 207 priests elected to attend from all parts of the country. The heat was on, just as it was on the bishops at last fall's Synod in Rome, to come up with actions and not just with words and resolutions. The priest-delegates were no better able to do it.

A spark of interest was ignited in the halls and back rooms when Father Jerry Fraser of Detroit mounted a campaign to unseat the popular Father Frank Bonnike from the president's chair. The Detroit priest's campaign was based on a new and independent thrust for NFPC, but his campaign was not credible enough from the outset. Father Bonnike was re-elected by a five-to-one margin.

A second spark went up among the Associations present when a resolution from the Senates of Boston and Newark proposed that all Associations be thrown out of the NFPC to make room for a National Federation of Priests' Senates. The motion was defeated easily enough, but the attempt was revealing.

Both these sparks of interest blew up from the embers of a battle already finished. It was fought over the relationship of the NFPC to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Some of the leadership of the NFPC felt that the Federation ought to become a department of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the bishops' agency. Father Bonnike thought such a move had more advantages than disadvantages. He made such a proposal to the NFPC board of 28 representatives, who are elected from each of the provinces. The board turned down the recommendation.

The advantages Father Bonnike saw included coordination with the various departments of the U.S. Catholic Conference, as well as with the bishops themselves. Information could be more readily exchanged, programs developed and implemented together, and a firmer position for the NFPC would thus be set in the minds of the bishops, priests and laity across the country.

The NFPC, as a department of the U.S. Catholic Conference, would no longer have to struggle with the charge it is antagonistic to the bishops. That lingering suspicion hampers the success of some good NFPC programs, Father Bonnike feels, as well as making fund-raising for the NFPC far more difficult. As a department of the USCC, funds would flow more readily, in his supposition, from the dioceses, from the foundations, and from the priests themselves.

To keep the independence of the NFPC, Father Bonnike stipulated, the president would still be elected by the delegates from the member councils and the positions of its newspaper, *Priests-USA*, would be kept also. Autonomy would not be lost, the NFPC president insisted.

The opposition to the move, who were in the ma-

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jority, felt that the NFPC would thereby be slipped into the back pocket of the bishops, and whatever might be ripped from their wallet would in no way compensate for the loss of the truly independent posture of the Federation. If the bishops paid the bills they would eventually be calling the tunes.

The fact that there is no love lost between the NFPC and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in this view, is due to the refusal of the bishops to admit the right of priests to associate independently in this way. The NCCB will not accept, realistically, the need for the priests to be independent if there is going to be reasonable dialogue between the two groups.

One man who is a bridge-builder par excellence in this regard, Bishop Patrick Flores, of San Antonio, was at the NFPC meeting in Denver. He presided at a Mariachi Mass and had the delegates in the palm of his hand. His genuine warmth with the priests is the type of experience needed to thaw the glacier now dividing the two groups of clerics.

The NFPC is one of the reform phenomena which had its roots in Vatican II and which tried to cross that glacier. So far it has not yet reached its goal.

Priests' organizations sprang up across the United States in the late '60s. Many of them were freely begun and independent of the diocesan bishops. All by itself that feat was singular and a major departure from any kind of similar organization in the past. These independent priest organizations came to be known as Associations. They have been free-wheeling experiments which frequently drove bishops right up the wall.

Those bishops who kept their presence of mind in the face of the Associations, however, encouraged local priests to form Senates. They knew that there was more hope of controlling Senates. By indication of Vatican II, by decree of Pope Paul VI, and "by God (!)," they were meant to be dominated by the bishop, begun by him, and if necessary, ended by him. The Senates, in the minds of many, became the company unions which were fostered to contain the independent Associations.

For a time the zone defense which was thrown up across the nation to hold in the Associations worked beautifully. Senates soon outnumbered associations by a four-to-one margin, or better. They became the nation's most influential councils of priests. It looked like everything was under control again. Then a funny thing happened one September day in 1968. The Senates formed together into an independent, association-like, organization called the National Federation of Priests' Councils.

The Senates liked the taste of the heady wine of independence just as much as their confreres in Associations. To the surprise and occasional consternation of their bishops, some 100 Senates had signed up for membership in the NFPC with 25 to 30 Associations.

Freedom soon began to assert itself, and the Federation was saying those things that generally purpled bishops with rage, things such as, "We ought to be able to get married." "We want to select the bishops of the future." "The power of priests' Senates should be more than merely consultative." "The big problem is authority." "There is no leadership in the hierarchy."

The situation became no better when the Federation moved outside the ambit of church problems to say things like "End the war." "End the draft." "Hurrah for the Berrigans."

The convention in Denver did not bare any such new issues of great importance. The delegates restated their support of a change in the law on clerical celibacy, but denied admittance to membership to the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry, a group of priests who support this same position, some of whom are already married. On the other hand, they voted to admit non-diocesan groups such as the Padres, a group of Chicano priests, and the Black Clergy Caucus. They re-affirmed general support for those on trial in Harrisburg. They recommended amnesty for those men who fled to Canada to avoid the draft.

By and large, then, the NFPC came up again on even keel after listing momentarily to the starboard side. The shift may make the journey less perilous to independence, but it throws the Federation more upon its own resources. Ultimately, that's the test. The priests have to prove its value to the church of the future.

The NFPC still presents the bishops with a problem. They are very adept at handling organizations of their own making and in the appointment of the future bishops of America to their own committees. But they don't know what to do with a group that is unofficial and independent, and that is probably the best reason for the continuance of the NFPC—to teach the bishops that they have to live with democracy even in the ranks of their own priests.

'AURENCE MADDOCK

(Father Laurence Maddock is Chairman of the Board of the Association of Chicago Priests.)

NEXT WEEK

SAUL MALOFF writes about what used to be called the House Un-American Activities Committee:

"It may be useful for the young or the forgetful to say yet again that in that bleak time mere 'membership' was a crime; that mere 'advocacy' was a crime; that the First Amendment was no defense; that all it took was a scurrilous, anonymous letter, the word of a bought-and-paid-for informer and perjurer; that the rules, procedures and statutes were rigged so that a witness was hopelessly ensnarled; that the victim of a 'mere' subpoena was as good as dead professionally. . . ."

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'POWER TO (SOME) PEOPLE'

MICHAEL NOVAK

AT THE WALLACE headquarters in the Park Plaza hotel, Orlando, Florida, on election night, Dot House was in charge of "press accreditation." Appealing to the better part of valor, I signed in as a contributing editor for *Christian Century* "in Chicago." "Tell me," the blue-eyed Mrs. House asked me. "I'd jus' like to know. Why would a religious weekly send someone to a political occasion? It's unusual."

Religion touches all parts of culture, I told her. Politics. Look at Billy Graham. And the arts. And . . .

Mrs. House signed me in with skepticism, and handed me a brown 5 & 10¢ store tag.

I don't think *Commonweal* would have made it. And since I had no formal identification, as other correspondents did, I don't think *Newsday* would have, either, even though my main assignment that night was to telephone Garden City an on-the-spot report.

The Wallace campaign doesn't go out of its way to help the press. There is no bus. The private plane the Governor used in Florida seated six—no room for the press there. "Too expensive," director of communications Joe Azbell told me. "We don't have the money. It's not one of our priorities."

The secret of the Wallace campaign is participation. They don't give out bumper stickers, or badges, or books, or portraits, or posters, or pennants; they sell them. They use the money to double or triple their supply. They get millions of people involved buying, selling, distributing, collecting.

Power to the people. Effective political organizing of "the average man." Anger against big government. An immense welling up of sentiment for radical reforms. The liberal Democrats have been talking about the need for "change"—but to the wrong constituency. The hunger for change is deeper and broader than they imagined.

The source of radical political energy in the United States lies with the lower-middle-class white, far more than with students, or even with the poor and the black. But there are two chief cultural streams among the lower-middle-class whites. There are the rural, mainly Protestant "rednecks," and the urban, mainly Catholic "PIGS"—Poles, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and others (not excluding lower-class Jews and Irish).

Wallace addresses issues in the pungent, earthy language of the rural evangelical style. In 1972, he has abandoned race as an issue; he doesn't even need busing; and his wife, Cornelia, and campaign manager, Charles Snider, see to it that his language and actions aim toward the grace and class necessary for support from suburbanites. (Many who agree with Wallace's diagnosis of bureacracy shudder at his lower-class mannerisms.) What remains to be proved is whether his rural Protestant style is credible to urban ethnic groups.

Certainly, urban ethnic groups feel abandoned by the Democratic party. The causes espoused by liberal and radical spokesmen seem always to be designed at *their* expense. Their values, living style, jobs, wages, neighborhoods, schools, and opportunities for college aid are cut into. Liberals and radicals give up nothing, neither life style, nor income, nor education, nor status, nor mobility, nor summer retreats, nor occasional expense-account traveling and dining.

As Bayard Rustin told the delegates to the Congress of Italian-American Organizations in Manhattan, March 15, "I urge you, my Italian friends, do not let *them* pay for 300 years of mistreatment of black people out of your pocket!"

The liberal-radical coalition in the Democratic party, at present championed by McGovern, Lindsay, and Chisholm, has for so long asked all the costs of its programs to be borne by lower-middle-class whites, and offered so little in return, that they must work against heavy odds to regain any credibility at all. They have begun to speak of tax reform. But what will they *do* to exemplify their pledge that the values, neighborhoods and economic security of workers will not be sacrificed on the altars of social change" and "new priorities"? It is very late now to begin to show concern.

Still, everything depends on the left wing of the party learning that the front edge of politics in the 1970's is *not* where it was in the 1960's. In the 1960's, the professionals, consultants, and experts took over HEW, civil rights programs, poverty programs, city planning and the rest. The liberal-radical equivalent to old-time patronage is the consultant's contract, the paid expert, the speechwriters, staffs and planners. It is a huge constituency of activists, as skilled in political organizing among their own kind as ward heelers ever were.

The role of intellectuals is commonly imagined as that of an "avant garde." The very conception is military, elitist and invidious. A much more satisfying image is that of *vox populi*. The intellectuals are those who give tongue to the traditions, sufferings, dilemmas, aspirations and fresh possibilities of their people. As matters stand, many on the left wing of the party—or beyond it—despise "middle Americans," whether rural or urban ethnic. They are "alienated" from the people.

The political goals set forward by liberal and radical intellectuals over the last ten years, moreover, are in

(Continued on page 126)

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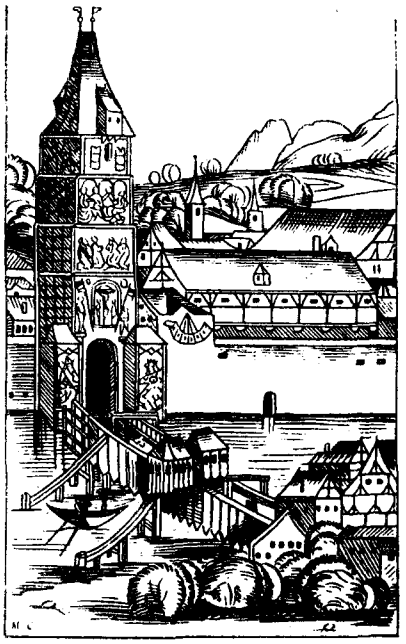

THE UNIVERSITY THE MONASTERY, AND THE CITY

JAMES V. SCHALL

The contemplative life is our greatest and most immediate political and intellectual need.

The road to Monte Cassino winds upward steeply amidst rather barren rocks, stone fences, olive groves, ever drawing away from the valley below through which a good part of Western civilization has at one time or another passed. For many years, I had been quite anxious to see this most famous abbey, the cradle of so much of what we know. Here, as I remembered from a haunting book about the life of Benedict which I once read as a young man, I would encounter the famous motto—*ora et labora*. In point of fact, I could find the motto nowhere implanted above doorposts or emblazoned on stone walls. Yet, in any case, as Lewis Mumford said in his *Technics and Civilization,* here is where mankind first began to realize that work was not a curse but could be freely chosen, shared among the brothers. Here too is where men began to realize that organization and discipline were enormously productive even when they were meant merely to assist at prayer.

And it was here, furthermore, that the notion of the Platonic guardians began to take on its peculiarly Christion configuration, where poverty, chastity and obedience replaced common wives and children, where praise of the Lord replaced the contemplation of the good. "The monastery was in fact," Mumford wrote in *The City in History,*

> a new kind of polis: an association, or rather, a close brotherhood of like-minded people, not coming together just for occasional ceremonies, but for permanent cohabitation, in an effort to achieve on earth a Christian life, addressed solely and single-mindedly to the service of God. . . . The closest link between the classic city and the medieval city was that formed, then, not by the surviving buildings and customs, but by the monastery. (Harcourt, Brace, 1961)

The monastery is, then, an essential part of our very civic tradition. This does not change even when, as Max Weber pointed out, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* the monastery was dissolved and the drive for perfection became part of the civic project.

The day was rather cloudy and windy when I first went to Monte Cassino last spring. And somehow I knew I was actually there because I had once read that life of Benedict long ago, because I knew of Cluny and Clairvaux, of Maria Laach, Lindesfarne, Whitby, and Fulda. The ancient monastery is, of course, absolutely new, a monument, as it were, to World War II, a reminder of the fragility of things. The breathtaking view from the chapel steps, the quiet, the gardens, the library, the ancient liturgy—I said to my friend, "Some day I should like to settle down here." I was only partly jesting. The *PAX* chipped on the walls, the mosaics of great Benedictine saints and popes, these make one vividly conscious that perhaps only in such places, amidst such beauty and praise, do we ever really find earthly peace, "Men must create such order amidst the chaos," I said, "when they do, the whole world will come to share it."

A recent issue of *Punch* (29 September 71) was entitled, "Do You Believe in Students?" Though Mr. William Davis and his witty friends did not come out with a blatantly agnostic stance towards this quaint new deity, one suspects this particular object of belief would have pushed their credibility to its outermost limits. What I enjoyed especially, however, was Mr. Quentin

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Blake's cartoon entitled, "The Committed Student." This showed three sign-carrying undergraduates whose tonsorial and sartorial array delineated their political stance. The first sign demanded "Abolish the Curriculum!" The second urged, "Afro Studies Now!" The third, borne by a very prim, bespectacled, studious type of the old academe, asked humbly, "Nonne fortasse linguae Latinae iterum studere, tandem aliquando licebit?"

We must admit, I think, that *Punch* is undoubtedly the only source in Christendom aside from *The Classical Review* and *l'Osservatore Romano* that could pull off a joke like that in the modern world—though, to be sure, neither *The Classical* nor *Osservatore* would suspect that it was anything more than a grammar exercise or a remembrance of things past. But *Punch* has, I believe, caught a new scent on the air that is worth a few scholarly sniffs on our part. For however unlikely is the Latin plea when translated—"Cannot we perhaps be allowed, at least sometimes, again to study the Latin language?"—it suggests a certain feeling in the scholastic climate that the university has been missing the very purpose for which it was created.

For the essential justification of the university upon which all others depend is to provide a place where knowledge and the truth could be sought in a human way, sought not because they were relevant, or pertinent, or politically significant, but simply—to use a Greek notion—for their own sakes. Thus the study of the Latin language or of aorist participles, or Hindu myths, or God Almighty, need no further justification than the fact that they exist and are in themselves intrinsically fascinating. "Nonne fortasse linguae Latinae iterum studere tandem aliquando licebit?"—this is a judgment of the most profound sort if we see it in the light of intellectual history for it suggests all too bluntly that our universities have not been doing well the only things that they were in fact established to do.

Professor Bruce Park recently wrote a remarkable essay in the *National Observer* entitled, "Give Me Back My Ivory Tower." (23 October 71) Part of the trouble, he implied, is the very nature of the social sciences themselves whose popularity is evident but whose method and philosophical justification have deprived them of anything but the "now" as a subject matter. Indeed, even literature and the natural sciences fall under the merciless scrutiny of the "now"—the dominance of latest movements and moods. It is not without interest that English professors and nuclear scientists come forth as the great voices in current politicizing movements. But, as many perceptive critics of the contemporary scene are more and more discovering, the exclusive study of the now—current movements and values—is an essentially backward and conservative enterprise. What is needed, Professor Park suggested, is contemplation and distance.

> Universities must again entertain academic plans where people can think. This does not mean arenas of free debate. Much that goes by that name is the weary, embittered exchange of slogans and clichés. But slogans, clichés and fears aside, debate, free or not, has little to do with whether men find it possible to reflect. Debate is a poor relation to the thought, however valuable it may be to lawyers and legislators.
>
> The need for the monastery is discernible in several quarters on the campus. . . . Students . . . are becoming anxious to escape the hubbub of other motives, other ends, other actions into a place where they can think.

Now a place in which "to think" is not yet a monastery, perhaps, but it is the beginning of one. What is remarkable, however, is that the need of the monastery becomes most evident precisely when the university seems most politicized.

A monastery is essentially a place to pray and worship. In Western tradition, formal political speculation, that is, thought about the city, began with the search for a thinker, a philosopher king who could truly know the absolute good and thereby share it with all men in the polis. The Christian monastery, as conceived by the early Benedictines, believed that the worship of God and the fraternity of the brothers were the prerequisites to knowledge. For the Greeks, action led to contemplation; for the Christians, thought was the natural outflow of prayer and worship. *Credo ut intelligam.* But for both, the pursuit of knowledge could not be divorced from the ultimate question.

Thus I have the impression today that the simultaneous socialization of academic and cultural life along with a feeling that intellectual integrity often requires a fleeing from this very world is somewhat a consequence of our refusal to acknowledge that worship is an essential element in the pursuit of truth. What has been missing has been precisely a sense of the whole. The politicization of literature, science and knowledge is really the creation of a substitute whole, the denial that there is any fundamental distinction between religion and politics. Aristotle had already noted that if man is the highest being, then politics must be the highest and only science. (*Ethics,* 114a20) Everything, in other words, must become political. This is, in fact, what has hap-

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pened, the working out of the belief that man is the highest being. Yet, the specter of Augustine's "Our hearts are restless until they rest in Thee" still hangs over our culture in spite of all our efforts to exorcise it. The shadow of the monastery again begins to cast its shadow on the world, but the building itself is nowhere as yet to be seen.

During the years I have been in Italy, I have been able to spend Holy Week in various Italian cities. Each year, we Jesuits are given the truly marvelous freedom of having eight days to ourselves during which we are to go through the Exercises of Ignatius, read the Scripture a bit more, try to see some depth in our lives and our loves. I have discovered that the great Italian cities are unimaginable sources of spiritual depth of a kind I hardly know from our own society.

During the Passiontide, I try to attend as many of the great liturgical celebrations as possible as well as to visit the quiet churches along the way, shrines that somehow seem to touch the very sources of our tradition. Holy Thursday last year I was in the Byzantine mosaic-ed, Palatine chapel of the great Norman Castle in Palermo. The sheer beauty and mystery of the solemn Mass, the haunting *Pange Lingua,* these things are impossible to forget.

Several years ago, I was in Venice. On the way to somewhere in that marvelous city—I forget where now because, like San Francisco, Rome, or Bruges, everywhere you go in Venice seems more astonishing than the place you left—I came across the house where Marco Polo had lived. I was reminded of this the other day when I chanced to buy a book of early travelers' tales which contained an account of Marco Polo's first meeting with Kublai Khan, "the Lord of the Tartars all over the earth," as he put it. Kublai Khan had never seen a "Latin" before so he was anxious to meet one. After hearing a description of this strange part of the world, the Tartar King decided to send a goodwill mission to see the Pope. He asked the Pope to send some hundred Christian men to his court. In Polo's account, they were to be

> intelligent men, acquainted with the seven arts, well qualified to enter into controversy and able to prove clearly by force of argument to idolaters and other kind of folk, that the Law of Christ was best, and that all other religions were false and naught; and that if they could prove this, he and all under him would become Christians and the Church's liegemen. (*Travelers' Tales,* ed. J. du Bois, New York, Everyman's Vacation Publications.)

Now of course, it is not my purpose here to "prove by the force of argument to idolaters and other kind of folk that the Law of Christ is best," though I would hope that all of us could have some of the famous Mongol warrior's intellectual humility and openness. What I do wish to suggest, however, is that the crisis of the university and the city does relate directly to the neglect of that element of religious and cultural life that has been protected and fostered in the monastery.

I do not, moreover, say this merely to be paradoxical. Rather I feel that the paradox lies within the structure of the reality of our time. The problem as I see it is that of the relation between prayer and politics. This is the classical problem of the relation of action and contemplation as it exists in our world. My initial conclusions are these: modern social and political movements—be they anti-war, ecological, or Third World development—have so identified religion and spirituality with their this-wordly programs that they are in grave danger of losing their religious foundation and justification which is the transcendence and mystery of God.

Therefore, the need and longing for the monastery in the modern world is a sign of a rejection of the greatest heresy Christian theory can conceive, namely, the direct identification of the divine purpose with the this-worldly affairs of men. Dom Odo Brooke in his reflective essay, "The Monk and the World," wrote that the essential question is not an either/or alternative of immersing oneself in or fleeing from the affairs of the world as if this were the only alternative. "Our involvement in the world is not partial but total. But we (monks) are involved in the world from a new center which not partially but totally transcends the world. We are therefore engaged totally in the world from a center totally beyond the world." (*The Downside Review,* April, 1970) It is this lack of attention to the transcendent center that constitutes the essential political problem of our time. Mumford was right; you cannot build the complete city without the Abbey Church.

All this will seem, undoubtedly, unsettling and even obscure, though it is my view that it flows directly from the evolution of political theory in the modern world. In order to understand why this is so, let me begin by citing two other Englishmen, both of whom have always been somehow symbols of sanity to me. These are the great Anglican theologian Eric Mascall and the justly famous storyteller, J. R. R. Tolkien.

In his perceptive review of J. B. Metz's worthy book, *The Theology of the World,* Mascall displayed his usual perception about current theological movements. Mascall rather liked Metz, especially in comparison to the majority of the "secularizing theologians." Yet Mascall is always aware that the effort to transform theology into politics is fraught with danger, no matter how much partial truth it might contain. He writes:

> Finally, without in the least degree questioning Father Metz's concern with secularization and technology, I would suggest that the Christian theologian ought not to commit himself too confidently to an identification of the future with a theology that is developed in terms of our technological culture. I would ask the question . . . whether the

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future of Christianity and the Church may not lie with the peoples of Asia and Africa, for whom even the terrific impact of western secularity does not seem to have destroyed a sense of the divine and transcendent. (*Downside Review,* April 1970)

European theologians, to be sure, tend to overstress both technology and the contemplative traditions of the Third World. But in any case, the sense of the transcendent at the core of political thought is still the basic question because the ultimate check on all politics is precisely the validity of the contemplative order.

The second aspect I should like to stress is the fact that man already is a special being of some wholly improbable sort in the universe. Tolkien puts it well:

Supernatural is a dangerous and difficult word in any of its senses, looser or stricter. But to fairies it can hardly be applied, unless super is taken merely as a superlative prefix. For it is man who is, in contrast to fairies, supernatural (and often of diminutive stature); whereas they are natural, far more natural than he. Such is their doom. ("On Fairy-Stories," *The Tolkien Reader,* Ballantine, 1966)

What Tolkien realized is that the metaphysical status of man is, as it were, in a category apart because man is the creature in the universe directly invited to contemplate the divine. Christianity means precisely the invitation to share the proper internal life of the trinitarian God. There is no worldly political substitute for this, nor can there be. This is why the one essential thing the totalitarian or secular mind must suppress is the contemplative.

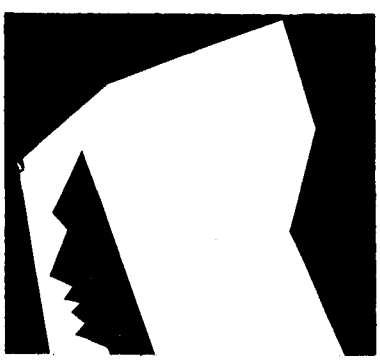
Recently, I chanced on an essay of Watkin Williams on "The Statecraft of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux." Let me cite its conclusion:

The Church, St. Bernard would have contended, is ruled as are the angels and, in his ideology, the State is also a theocracy. Before the angels were confirmed in their allegiance, some of them fell. Man as an individual remains, during his earthly lifetime, still on probation. As a corporation, the ultimate destiny of the Church as an Ecclesia Triumphans is divinely assured. As a corporation, no state has any ultimate destiny at all. Its individual citizens, whether rulers or ruled, have such a destiny submitted to their free choice, but only as citizens, actual or possible, of the City of God. In this sense, we may interpret the statecraft of St. Bernard. It simply centered on God, to whom every measure taken by the civil ruler should be referred. (*The Dublin Review,* April, 1943)

For the mystical Doctor, this "supernaturalness" of man, this ultimate City of God was the true home, and individual men could not, politically, forget it. It is to this reality that the contemplative in human society stands as abiding witness.

Yet, the question naturally arises, particularly with the oppressing problems of social action and marxist-eschatological theology, whether this emphasis on the other life does not simply lay the Christian open to the charge of abandoning the world of man to itself. Moreover, for contemporary marxist theologians, political theology is directly the building of a heaven, indeed the building of the ultimate heaven. For the non-Christian, this heaven is on earth, the elimination of all intrinsic and extrinsic alienations. For the Christian, it is one of basic continuity between what man does and what God does.

Brian Wicker in his book *First the Political Kingdom* attempts to grant as much as possible to marxist theory while striving to retain some final place for a Christian illumination. Wicker sees the Catholic left as "the actual embryo of the church to come. As far as I can see," he states, "there is no other way than the Catholic left . . . for Christianity to survive." This involves a reinterpre-



tation of incarnational theology and a complete rejection of the "God of the gap" theory, the god who exists to explain what mankind cannot explain. Wicker sees three essential aspects of the Christian left:

1) ". . . The identification—more or less complete —of the coming Kingdom of the glorious and risen Lord with the establishment of a socialist society."
2) "The liturgy of the visible Church here and now is a model by which we can determine the outline of what a human political society ought to be." That is, socialism is the visible expression of the inner meaning of the liturgical community.
3) ". . . Christianity involves a certain moral intransigence in the face of what may seem revolutionary demands." (University of Notre Dame Press, 1968)

This involves a new vision of the tragic which seeks to eliminate it from human reality. Wicker himself, it appears, believes that this cannot be done, yet he maintains that Christianity must be present in the efforts to do so. The Christian idea of divine gift and human progress fuse into one another so that human social and scientific effort develop into the divine gift, beyond tragedy.

But for the great Spanish existentialist, Miguel de Unamuno, such analysis is naive. "What is all this talk

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about social Christianity?" he already asked in 1925.

> What is all this noise about the social kingdom of Christ which the Jesuits din in our ears? What business has Christianity, true Christianity, with our this-wordly society? . . . The man who tolerates tyranny can be as much a Christian as the one who defends democracy or civil liberty. The fact is that the Christian qua Christian is not concerned with all this. (*The Agony of Christianity,* trans. K. Reinhardt, New York, Ungar, 1960)

Unamuno believed Christianity was a-political. He was a true anarchist and individualist. Community only could grow out of this paradoxical basis. Any effort to make Christianity a wordly thing was pagan and jesuitical for him because it neglected the task of the worship of God. Thus the primacy of the spiritual in Christianity took on a completely a-worldly stance. The break between the world and God was complete.

These two opposing extremes of Christian analysis—the complete activist of the Christian left, the total contemplative of the Spanish mind—raise issues that cannot be avoided. In my own thinking, I am inclined to the view that it is the contemplative that is the most neglected and the most important. This runs the danger of standing aloof from much recent Christian political theory, especially Third World and radical social action theory which tend to identify social and political activity with the faith. Further, the Twenty-fifth Chapter of Matthew, the Epistle of James, Amos, Isaiah, must always remain a fundamental part of any relationship to God, and these are strongly social action warnings. Yet my view here is that the monastery in particular and the contemplative life in general are presently the most required things in the specifically modern world because what is required is the realization that political action and economic productivity, necessary though they be, are not the essence of the faith or of man.

The German theologian Harry Haas remarked that it was curious that in Christianity's missionary activities in Asia, there has been a noticeable lack of monasticism. Many feel, he says, this is just as well because what is needed in this part of the world is technicians and welfare workers. The result is that the East knows very little of Western monasticism at a time when Eastern monasticism is becoming popular in the West. This has meant that a great historic opportunity was missed to recognize the common need of the spiritual in man both in East and West. (*Christianity in the Asian Revolution,* Baltimore, Helicon, 1966)

In recent years, two remarkable essays have been written upon the relation of politics and prayer by French theologians—Daniélou's "Prayer as a Political Problem," and Jacques Ellul's "Prayer and Modern Man." Daniélou's approach is through the public order. Prayer, he holds, requires a civilizational context which it is not receiving. This cuts the common man off from a sense of the sacred and divine. He greatly fears that Christianity may become merely a cult of the elite. Politics is not mysticism nor sanctity. But it does exist to make such things possible so that without this openness to the holy, the sacred invades politics—a phenomenon that is currently happening everywhere in the Western world. But it is a holiness, as I have argued elsewhere, that is warped and exaggerated precisely because it is not recognized as such. (cf. "Spirituality and Politics," *Worldview,* July-August, 1970) "A city which does not possess churches as well as factories," Daniélou continues,

> is not fit for men. It is inhuman. The task of politics is to assure to men a city in which it will be possible for them to fulfill themselves completely, to have a full material, fraternal, and spiritual life. It is for this reason that, in so far as it expresses this personal fulfillment of man in a particular dimension, prayer is a political problem; for a city which would make prayer impossible would fail in its role as a city. (trans. J. Kirwan, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1967)

The very nature of contemporary civilization requires the moment of personal prayer both to establish the absolute dignity of the individual and to set limits to civilization itself. The philosophic, ecological and political movements to return man to a generalized species instead of a person are already far advanced. Politics can and must demand of religion, in its turn, that its prayer be real and vital. The Christian notion of Caesar and God, however, must remain the essential foundation of the priority and relationship of man to the state.

Ellul's approach to prayer and politics is almost the very opposite of Daniélou's. "Why do men not pray?" he asks. The main reason seems to be that Christianity has come to be looked upon as a kind of service, aid-giving brotherhood whose religious meaning and task is totally exhausted in such efforts. Modern technique has supposedly been able to do everything that God used to be called upon to do. Thus, the mission of religion is merely a kind of supplemental distribution, concern-arousing agency. Modern society, as Ellul described it in his *Technological Society,* is a completely enclosed system in which man confronts only himself and his deeds. This is essentially the approach of the Christian left, as I noted above, but Ellul's reaction is not therefore to conform Christianity to the exigencies of this worldly movement.

For Ellul, political action, no matter how radical, is still in this world. It must always belong to the conditions of time. It is never of itself God nor God-producing. "Prayer, by contrast, is a much more radical break, a more fundamental protest," he writes in *Prayer and Modern Man.* "Precisely because our technological society is given over to action, the person who retires to his room to prayer is the true radical." (Seabury, 1970) Prayer is thus seen as combat, as the positive effort to

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create precisely history, to save our deeds from a meaninglessness. The incarnation is still present as an active power in the world, a judgment of men and nations. The true order of history is a salvation history. Aside from this, all political action is only itself, it has no order or intrinsic meaning. Where the marxist finds absolute continuity and competence, Ellul finds only faith and interruption.

Religion in general and Christianity in particular are not to be judged or justified primarily by their political consequences or lack thereof. The First Commandment is always, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." There is a type of Christian thought, C. S. Lewis tells us in his very stimulating little book, *Letters to Malcolm, Chiefly Concerning Prayer,* which seeks to save Christianity by removing the supernatural from it to make it more acceptable to modern man. But this, of course, is exactly what modern man does not need. What he needs is, in a very real sense, what is beyond need. It is the failure to acknowledge this basic aspect of man that is currently challenging both the university and the city. Essentially what I have been trying to say in these reflections is that what the monastery stands for, the worship of God, the pursuit of truth, the love of the brotherhood, is what the city and the university must regain. What new or old communal form this will take, I am not at all sure. I am beginning to feel that the future of the Christian family absolutely needs some kind of communal form if we are to preserve its values in the next century. This may be also true of the very history and recollection of what man is.

We need to realize further that prayer is the first and most radical political act because it establishes who we are in the course of cosmic history, while it limits politics to this world. Prayer, then, is the basic breaking out of the confinement that human persons have to their world and their time.

But this breaking out is, as it were, essentially an astonishment. As Tolkien said, it is man who is the real supernatural being in the universe. Elves and trolls and hobbits are natural. This means that the sorrows and tasks of the world are not meant to be final or to distract us from our ultimate business. Aristotle said that the final condition of man was leisure. Christianity did not reject this but said that leisure was not merely the end of politics— the place where prayer and contemplation could naturally happen—but also, in a way, it was also the life of God to which man is invited. C. S. Lewis put it well:

> Dance and game are frivolous, unimportant down here; for 'down here' is not their natural place. Here they are a moment's rest from the life we were placed here to live. But in this world everything is upside down. That which, if it could be prolonged here, would be truancy, is likest that which in a better country is the End of ends. Joy is the serious business of heaven. (*Letters to Malcolm,* New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1964)

The contemplative life as it was historically called is, then, our greatest and most immediate political and intellectual need. This is the paradox within the religious politics of our time.

So it is that the existence and vitality of this life among us, our constant realization of its presence keeps open to us the true dignity that belongs to us as men, the dignity that we actually were called to accept and share the life of God. The political history of recent centuries, and more especially of recent years, it seems to me, is little else than the search, in its theoretical depths, for a viable alternative to this gift. Ultimately it is the person who performs the transpolitical act of prayer who knows that all proposed alternatives—alternatives he is obliged to know and understand because he has the gift of intelligence—are of lesser dignity. This is why prayer really is the only valid revolutionary act in the modern world. For it alone "turns around" worldly conditions and escapes from their limits.

The shadow of Monte Cassino is still somehow in the world, in our cities and in our universities. The reason it will not go away is very theological and very political; it is, as Tolkien said, because man is the supernatural creature, and joy is the serious business to which he is called.

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an exchange of views

Women and Abortion

Theology's Failure

Palo Alto, Calif.

To the Editors: Having just been lucky enough to discover Mary Daly's Feb. 4 article "Abortion and Sexual Caste," I should like to applaud the author's keen analysis of a pivotal point concerning the abortion issue—that is, the failure of theology to recognize or foster a body of feminist ethics.

Her insight into the nature of the women's movement (it manifests a desire to assume, not abnegate, responsibility) and the relation of the abortion issue to that larger demand for psychological and spiritual freedom adds the dimension that is always lacking when Catholic intellecuals debate the morality of abortion. (But, then, as Daly notes, the debating teams are all-male clubs.)

As a self-styled "spiritual expatriate" from organized religion and a young woman who carries the scars of spiritual loneliness rendered during years of formal schooling in a male-dominated church, I can only second with enthusiasm and bear witness to the author's perception that the women's movement "is expressing dimensions of human truth that the institutional churches have failed to incarnate and express."

I look to the editors of *Commonweal* to provide future opportunity for Mary Daly and other thinking Christian women to shed new perspectives on some of these "dimensions of human truth."

MICHELE FUETSCH

'Cloaked' Assertions

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: In the course of delivering a simple methodological assertion (that the church's patriarchal thinking on abortion should be changed to include women's thinking and to respect woman's predicament in the childbearing enterprise), Mary Daly spread cloaked, non-committal, and fantastic content assertions across four of your costly pages ["Abortion and Sexual Caste," Feb. 4].

Cloaked: throughout the article the author zig-zagged between "women" and "feminists," bolstering the outspoken force of the latter with the numerically representative force of the former. For example, "Essentially women are saying that because there is ambiguity surrounding the whole question [of abortion] and because sexually hierarchial society is stacked against women, abortion is not appropriately a matter of criminal law." Which women are saying this?

'Abortion and Sexual Caste'

Non-committal: never distinguishing between objective morality and individual guilt or innocence, she restricted her thinking to the latter and thus unloosed the thoughts to thrash unchecked among the countless "circumstances" of the specific abortion.

And fantastic: in conclusion Professor Daly predicted that "authentic religion" will inspire "the kind of personal, social and theological creativity that can, in the long run, make abortion a non-problem." Fantastic. As *The New Yorker* would add, "And disease, and, and infidelity, and. . . ."

THOMAS A. CAFFREY
The Psychological Center
The City University of New York

The Male Syndrome

Atlanta, Ga.

To the Editors: Thanks to Mary Daly for her article on abortion and sexual caste [Feb. 4]. Opponents of abortion law repeal show little empathy for the oppressively sexist context in which these laws were made and are maintained. The rational moralists, mostly male, often simplistically equate abortion with murder without really appreciating the complex ethical situation of the women affected. I wonder about the level of consciousness of the women who oppose abortion law reform; how much have they unconsciously internalized the second-class humanness instilled from girlhood years. The church has been so overwhelmingly male-chauvinist in its life and institutions that its pronouncements about what women should do with their bodies must remain suspect for a long time to come. Daly's point about fearing the free decisions of women themselves concerning abortion points up an important trait of the paternalistic syndrome. After all, removing abortion from certain criminal statutes does not compel persons to have abortions; rather it allows them the freedom to make their own moral decisions. I have no doubts that if men had to face the prospects of abortions in their own bodies, abortion laws would have been repealed or reformed long ago.

EUGENE C. BIANCHI
Emory University

'Camouflage'

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: A few weeks ago I addressed a small group at the Harvard Newman Center. One of the young

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ladies admired my "Celebrate Life" button nostalgically. She had one, she told me, at home. "I don't wear it anymore. People might think it stands for one of those Right to Life groups." I assured her, it does.

Last night I participated in a planning session at the Harrisburg Defense Committee. On the wall were sacred texts. One read, " 'All the paper in the world is not worth the life of a single child.' Daniel Berrigan."

Mary Daly's "Abortion and Sexual Caste" [Feb. 4] just doesn't make sense. She proposes that all laws restricting abortion be nullified because any laws conceivable would of necessity arise out of a social matrix of sexist oppression and could therefore not bear legitimacy. An imperfect society cannot make perfect laws and therefore should not attempt to make any.

Mary Daly's attack on Gordon Zahn is particularly pointless. Zahn's subject was the morality of abortion from the point of view of a religious pacifist. His title says so. His topic was not the legal problem. He should not be criticized for sticking to his point. Mary Daly caricatures Gordon Zahn's pacifism. Pacifism has to do not with people allowing themselves to be killed as much as with killing human beings, especially mass killing as a social and political phenomenon, war, and with socially approved crimes like capital punishment. The pacifist argues that no matter how compelling the reasons to justify killing may seem they are inadequate. The religious pacifist refuses participation in war, just or not, refuses to recognize the right of the state to exact capital punishment and recognizes abortion as a similar violation of God's unique dominion over human life. It is unavoidable to recognize the interrelatedness of these issues with the responsibilities of men and women and society as a whole for the causes of war, crime, etc. It is camouflage for Mary Daly to put the abortion issue in a "larger context." It is raising a smoke screen to bring in the argument about "black, white and shadings of gray." Acceptance of abortion on demand will not make for more careful decision-making, but trivialize the issue.

The first obligation of any civil society is to *secure* (not to grant) the right to life. Law is an imperfect instrument. We make do with imperfect laws because we have to. The present legislation in New York State is retrogressive, far too lax and represents a serious default of responsibility. The previous restrictions on abortion in New York were not absolute, pleased no one altogether, but presented a better solution to the problem. It is not too late for the forces for life to coalesce and to halt the nationwide drive for abortion on demand. The drive for legalized euthanasia, infanticide and the final solution for mental retardates is already underway. If we don't have the resources to meet the abortion challenge we will more easily fail in the rest. The positive approach of the New York Archdiocese in its Birthright program is one good first model. Serious and

energetic work in the legal forum and the legislatures is also called for. Instead of waiting for the ideal society in which Mary Daly suggests abortion will be a non-issue, we should be working for what is proximately attainable, day care for mothers who have to or wish to work, and more important, recognition of child-bearing and rearing as work valuable to the community and to be rewarded, not as a matter of charity, but by right. Mothers or fathers who raise children should receive a salary for that service to the community.

The law in New York State is worse than bad. Not only does it default on the state's first obligation by removing the negative sanctions against abortion, it supplies positive sanctions. Tax moneys are going to support the maintenance of abortoria. Abortions are advertised in subways and over radio. Young people growing up in this atmosphere are likely to regard abortion as something like a cosmetic. A society which fails so seriously in its first obligation will surely corrupt its citizens and institutions. Is this what they meant by bringing the war home?

TOM CORNELL
The Catholic Peace Fellowship

An Ethical Problem

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: Mary Daly seems to be saying throughout her article [Feb. 4] that resistance to abortion-law "reform," especially by men, unfeelingly contributes to just those oppressive social factors (created by men in the first place) that have made abortion the vehement issue it is today. But this argument is objectionable not only because it imposes on men a subtle form of coercion-by-guilt, but mostly because this position is founded on a hidden presupposition that continually obscures the real issue.

And the real issue is this: that abortion is an *ethical* problem centering around the justification (if any) for the killing of human, fetal life. Ms. Daly consistently treats abortion as a *sociological* problem, a manifestation of the oppressed status of women, as if prohibition of abortion were an expression of a societal taboo irrationally chaining women to degrading domestic roles rather than a conscious stance regarding the humanity of the fetus and its consequent right to legal protection.

This hidden presupposition appears so often in pro-abortion arguments that it is becoming downright maddening. By not confronting the arguments of those who maintain that fetuses are human (and in their weakness deserving of legal protection), pro-abortionists are forced, by their own logic, to a very ugly position: that human oppression warrants the killing of *other* (and innocent) human life. Well, does the present social practice of leaving most of the child-rearing to the mother

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(assuming that this is oppressive) warrant the killing of the child? Do parents who are poor and oppressed have the right to "terminate the life" (as the expression goes) of their offspring? Such questions seem crass and sensationalistic in the extreme, but to me are inevitable as long as the abortion debate does not center around the humanity of the fetus.

This is precisely where Mary Daly's article begs the question. Why, for instance, of *Commonweal*'s two major articles on abortion did she choose to argue against Gordon Zahn's—one that spoke from a particular tradition and pointed out an inconsistency *within* that tradition—rather than Richard Stith's article with its very effective rebuttal of positions maintaining the nonhumanity of the fetus? Such a failure to take real issue with the heart and root of the anti-abortion argument has made Ms. Daly's essay one large, albeit subtle, *ad hominem* argument (I trust the phrase is permissible). So to answer her set of statistics that 100% of the bishops who oppose abortion are men and 100% of the people who have abortions are women, I simply wish to ask: what *at all* does that have to do with the rights of the unborn, developing human?

(MR.) EDWARD T. OAKES, S.J.

Scientific Solution?

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: I'm very much aware of living in a world that discriminates against women—socially and biologically. The fact that women have babies handicaps them in every area of life.

Yet Mary Daly hasn't convinced me that abortion is better [Feb. 4]. I think either choice is evil. Killing the fetus is evil. Forcing the mother to undergo nine months of pregnancy, plus labor and childbirth, against her will is also evil.

But even though I'm a woman, I think forcing the mother to bear the child is the *lesser* evil, because at least she's allowed to live. At worst, an unwanted pregnancy only wastes nine months of her life—it doesn't cancel out her entire future as abortion does for the fetus.

Many people ask how enforced pregnancy can ever be justified. The only justification is to save the life of the fetus. If killing the fetus is justified to save the mother (which I believe it is), then surely a lesser waste of human life (nine months' enforced pregnancy) is justified to save the fetus.

The only solution will come when doctors can remove a fetus from the womb at any stage of pregnancy and keep it alive to term in an artificial womb. Then any unwanted (or dangerous) pregnancy can be terminated without killing the fetus. LYNN HERRICK

'Contradictions'

Saint Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: Mary Daly's article on *"Abortion and Sexual Caste"* in the February 4th issue is a tragedy of contradictions to me. I fully support the position that woman is a full human

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being with rights equal to that of her male counterpart. I believe in the woman's freedom, in her charisma, in her authenticity. It is precisely because we are free that we are able to accept other persons.

I find statements like "women are at the mercy of their reproductive systems" inconsistent with this freedom. Sex is a free act, not an enforced act. I do appreciate that a young teenager often has a woeful lack of information yet, based on material taken from Depth Psychology and from our own educational groups for teenagers who have been in difficulty as a result of their sexual behavior, I know that many times on a very deep level, particularly the older teenager and woman experienced the need for pregnancy so profoundly that contraceptive "failure" ensued.

What Miss Daly appears to overlook is that a woman's freedom pertains to the woman and not to the person whom she carries within her, namely her unborn child. To demand freedom for oneself and at the same time demand the right to deny this freedom to one's own child is to me inconsistent if not incomprehensible. One can not actually, to me, speak affirmation and at the same time deny someone else's right to be. Abortion is a very expedient solution, it is a quick solution but what it does in the long run to persons has not yet been appreciated.

As the recent Kennedy Symposium demonstrated, there is no argument for abortion which cannot be equally well applied to infanticide. If this is the kind of free society which the Feminist Movement is trying to build I do not consider it an improvement over the present situation.

HANNA KLAUS, M.D.
Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics
School of Medicine,
Saint Louis University

'Eloquent'

Oceanside, Calif.

To the Editors: The hand that rocks the the cradle vehemently applauds Mary Daly's article, "Abortion and Sexual Caste" [Feb. 4], a perceptive observation of the oppressed feminine state in relation to "patriarchal religion." We at home among the laundry baskets and lunch pails welcome your printing as eloquent a spokeswoman for the feminine cause as Ms. Daly. She and other informed women are becoming convinced that not only on the issue of abortion laws are they at war with the official church. The supremely chauvinistic bias of traditional religion and especially the Catholic church has become increasingly unacceptable to those women who recognize their human right to "free and courageous decisions" in matters as uniquely personal as abortion.

Incredible naiveté, "built-in vested interest" and an inability ever to really listen seem to characterize too many spiritual leaders who no doubt find their extremely comfortable position in the "sexual caste system" threatened with her traditional church-endorsed role of submissiveness. Support of passivity as the feminine role has been in the past a shameful psychological manipulation of women at the hands of an authoritarian church which has perpetuated the myth of male dominance when in the name of Christ's message of love it should have been teaching men and women to relate to one another as persons, not as role players.

Women like Mary Daly write for all of us who refuse to accept unquestioningly the pastel-statue image of idolized motherhood that was supposed to content us. We are becoming aware of our talents and abilities, beginning to choose for ourselves, to voice our convictions on important issues such as legalized abortion. A few fortunate ones among us have the encouragement of the sensitive men we love, exceptional men who value us most not as housekeepers or sex objects but as individuals. Much of my own sympathy with the feminist movement arises from my feeling that it can make people conscious of the beautiful kind of relationship that is possible when a man and a woman genuinely respect one another's personal integrity.

A church desperately in need of a new approach might find a wealth of untapped creative reserve among the ironers of its altar linens. At this time, however, I see little hope that the leaders of the Catholic church will be able to overcome their prejudice against women very soon, particularly when they have recently reaffirmed this bias with a vengeance in the celibacy argument. As Mary Daly says, by pointing beyond abortion, the church has an

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option to make a significant contribution to destroying the sexual caste system. Judging by its historical patterns of action, though, it will refuse again to hear, this time what the feminists are saying, and they, as have many of its talented and energetic members, will turn to whatever more creative groups and organizations support their search for growth as free and loving persons.

MARSHA HUGHES

Reply from Mary Daly

The experience of reading the lengthy responses to my article, "Abortion and Sexual Caste" [Feb. 4] has been something like one of the trips described in *Gulliver's Travels,* during which Gulliver encounters scholars who are engaged (if I remember correctly) in the rather unrealistic project of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers. My sense of unreality has been enhanced not only by the nature of some of the arguments printed in *Commonweal,* but also by their extreme contrast to the unanimously favorable response of the women who telephoned, telegrammed, and wrote to me personally.

My (mostly male) *Commonweal* commentators appear in some cases to be inordinately disposed to identify with fetuses. Gordon Zahn, for example [Feb. 18] sees the latter as "oppressed" . . . "human beings" whose very existence feminists would make dependent upon "the pleasure, the whims, the convenience or the self-determined 'necessity' of that other (read: the woman)." Quite absent from this description of motivations is any indication of empathy with the plight of women burdened with unwanted pregnancies. As Rachel Conrad Wahlberg, writing in *The Christian Century* [Sept. 8, 1971] described this plight: "She becomes a housing incubator for a potential being who can change her life for twenty years." Ms. Wahlberg also has some interesting remarks about the cannibalistic, parasitic aspects of the fetus' relationship to the mother, which those whom Betty Friedan labels as "Friends of Fetus" might do well to ponder.

Some of my rebutters give the impression that they do not wish to confront the major issues raised by my article and therefore convert their energy into nit-picking over words. Among the central points made in my article is the following: Anti-abortion laws and ethical arguments have been the creation of males within sexist society, and these laws and ethical arguments have in large measure left out of consideration the experience and needs of women. Rather than addressing himself to this point, Gordon Zahn disputes my use of the term "caste." As I stated in the article, I have used the term in accordance with Berreman's broad description. Clearly I am not using it in the most rigid sense, which would be applicable only to Brahmanic Indian society. But what is at issue is not merely the use of a term but a set of social conditions whose existence

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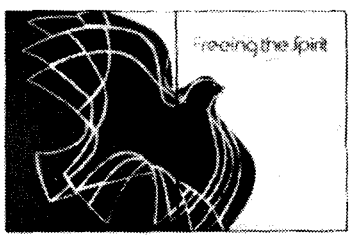

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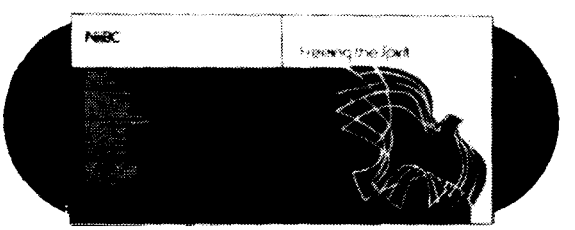

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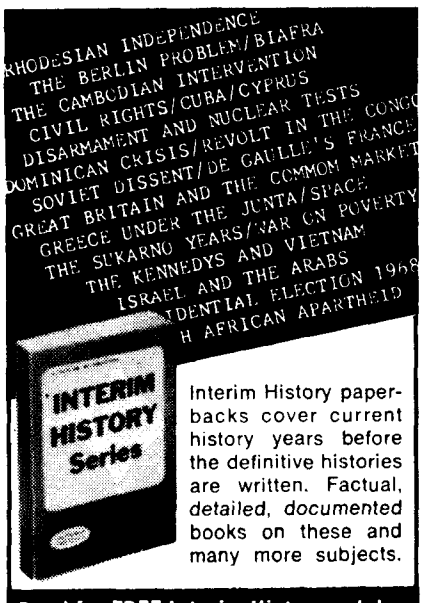
Gordon Zahn, in my opinion, does not acknowledge. His remark that sexual caste is belied by my own "distinguished career" is just one more instance of refusal to consult the experience of women, in this case, myself. Let me spell it out: Every day I experience evidence of sexual caste, as does every other woman who has not allowed herself to be completely lobotomized.

Peter Steinfels' two editorial pieces [Feb. 18, Mar. 3] also display a tendency not to hear what (movement) women are saying. In the first piece [Feb. 18] he fixes upon my use of the term "women" and points out that not all women agree with me—a fact with which I am not unfamiliar. As I pointed out in my article, women have "internalized the consciousness of the superordinate group" and by and large they "have not been able to challenge the value system of the dominant elite." Again Mr. Steinfels gets into a semantic problem over "dominant elite," implying that some movement women belong in this category. The fact is, however, that women under the conditions of patriarchal society do not belong to the dominant elite *as women*. They may have derivative status as a result of their association with men, e.g., as daughters and wives. This means that women have a duality of status, and the derivative aspect of this status divides women from each other, masking their common oppressed condition *as women*. This encourages false identification with patriarchal institutions that do not serve the interests of women and in which they do none of the major decision-making. The very conceptual apparatus that educated women inherit not only fails to provide adequate conceptual tools for understanding and conveying their own experience but also insidiously divides them against themselves and each other. In such a society, women are "extra-environmentals," and the ethic of existential courage to confront the implications of this, which is beginning to emerge in the minds of women, is hardly reducible to an aspiration to join the world of the male establishment, as Mr. Steinfels would have it.

Mr. Steinfels may perceive the women's movement as a "women's page" variation of other (larger) cultural trends. On the surface and from the outside it might appear that way to a "detached" observer. That is an easy way of not facing the implications of the transformation of consciousness that is happening in women. Those who are living and creating the women's revolution are aware that it contains an essential dynamic that can challenge the very fabric of sexist society. As I have indicated elsewhere ["After the Death of God the Father," *Commonweal*, March 12, 1971], the women's revolution has the potential to transform society from patriarchy into something that never existed before—into a *diarchal situation* that is radically new. This means that beliefs and values that have held sway for thousands of years will be questioned as never before. The emergence of women can generate a counterforce to the exploitative, stereotypic male mentality that is raping persons and the environment.

Mr. Steinfels wants to deal with the issue of the repeal of anti-abortion laws by absorbing the problems into some other context than that which is so overwhelmingly difficult to face, namely the all-pervasive system of sexual caste. For those who perceive this context, some of the points that he raises are clearly of less significance than he would attribute to them. For example, even if it is demonstrable that as many men as women or even that more men than women favor the repeal of anti-abortion laws—so what? Women are becoming conscious of their own reasons and their own goals. Again, the centrality that Mr. Steinfels and others attribute to the problem of the status of the fetus is in question, for to perceive sexual caste is to reject such a one-dimensional ethical focus.

The hypocrisy of the patriarchal ethic is manifested in a particularly devastating way when it comes to the problem of abortion. Abortion is an issue which can serve to trigger the mechanisms of scapegoat psychology, projecting upon women all of male guilt for a *machismo* society characterized by genocide, war, rape, and violence of all kinds. The projection has a degree of plausibility, of course, because abortion is in fact a destructive act. Yet, as I have already pointed out in my article, an adequate assessment of the situation cannot be made by looking at the isolated material act in itself, particularly when this "looking" is done by an external judge who does not participate in the experience or the oppressed situation of women with unwanted pregnancies. The pseudo-objectivity of such judgments is reflected in some of the letters responding to my article, whose authors pass over the fact that women frequently choose abortion as a last resort in a desperate situation. Some of these letters simply reflect the standard lack of comprehension to which my women correspondents give ample testimony. As one woman wrote to me, in a letter sent also to *Commonweal* but apparently not printed: "The male discusses abortion



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as though the problem begins only after he has had his pleasure. . . . The male in the throes of sexual lust is not in the least concerned with the rights of any fetus his activity may bring into being. . . . Never does he think of abortion in terms of his selfish need to copulate."

Feminist attorney and author Florynce Kennedy remarked: "If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament." Although I am inclined to agree, I have not yet written to Rome requesting that abortion be raised to the status of an eighth sacrament. I merely point out once again that 1) I do not think a living, healing, prophetic community would expend time and energy lobbying against the repeal of unjust laws; 2) I think that authentic religion will inspire the kind of personal, social, and *technological* creativity that can in the long run make abortion a non-problem.

MARY DALY

BOOKS

THE END OF SCHOOL REFORM

MAURICE R. BERUBE

THE GREAT school reform movement of the 1960s has come to a close, more with a whimper than a bang. This third and most important educational reform movement, according to historian Michael Katz in his new book *Class, Bureaucracy, and the Schools* (Praeger, $5.95), finally lost its vitality. The telltale sign, Katz brilliantly notes, is the re-emergence of the hereditary thesis in learning with the Jensenist heresy. A decade which witnessed the flowering of a plethora of thoughtful and impassioned educational books, as well as a flow of creative talent to the schools (experimental school teachers included novelists, playwrights, philosophers and concrete poets among others) is no more.

Essentially, school reform failed. What went wrong? Part of the answer can be glimpsed by reading Katz's original, informed and provocative essay. Katz is a first-rate historian, less impressed by official historical rhetoric and more observant of new historical sources providing hard data. Katz's essay is rich in ideas, and offers activists and students of education perspective in appraising the turbulent last decades in public schooling.

Perhaps Katz's most provocative insight is that the third great school reform movement, like other educational reform movements, was "part of a larger movement to improve the quality of urban life." The first reform movement sought to create public schools and was forged in the wake of the Jacksonian revolution; the second accompanied the Progressive movement to reform the cities. The third accompanied the black rights and student radical movement of the 1960s. That third reform movement, Katz astutely points out, stressed one basic reform that would drastically alter American education: revamp the political structure of schooling. That particular thesis was the genius of the new reform. It was a point missed by John Dewey and the Progressives, diluting their message, and preserving continuity in American school history.

"At its best," Katz writes, "as in Dewey's formulation, educational theory combined a focus on the child and his world with a driving social-reformist commitment that, in the tradition of American educational thought, saw education as the key to social uplift . . . [yet] in fact, his [Dewey's] writings generally fail to deal with the relationship between the structure of school systems and the content of education. He did not ask, that is, whether it was possible to ef-

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fect a reform of pedagogy within the bureaucratic structure of urban schools. That question was left largely unexplored by progressive theorists, which is one of the central weaknesses of their writings." That was left for the radical reformers of our day. They perceived that the "main thrust of contemporary radical reform" should be to "alter the political basis of educational control": in short, to decentralize.

For the most part, these radical reformers comprised an *ad hoc* movement created in response to a current need. Most were not initially aware (as was Katz) of the deeply ingrained racism and inequality in American education historically bred by bureaucracy. The purpose of the public schools, Katz admirably demonstrates, has historically been social control—to keep the poor in their place—rather than serving as the gateway out of poverty, as the official educational rhetoric of the day proclaimed. Bureaucracy, Katz flatly asserts, bred class bias and racism; and Katz throws his vote with the radical reformers of the '60s when he asserts that "structural change [must] precede educational change."

It is not that the reformers did not strenuously try. In the early '60s, following years of stress on curriculum innovation, school reformers sought to politically shape the schools through integration. They found courts willing to accept that proposition, but a white populace that was not. Consequently, the limitations of court power became glaringly apparent. The Supreme Court decision regarding integration was politically incapable of being implemented. So was the Federal Court decision in Washington to redress racial and social inequality in the schools because of tracking and unequal allocation of resources. Both the *Brown* and the *Hobson vs. Hansen* rulings were, in effect, paper decisions. At best, the courts served as catalyst for reform, as David Cohen observes in a recent *Social Policy* article; at worst, they revealed the ingrained public opposition to change in racial and social relations.

Neither were the reformers lax in pressing school decentralization and community control. The idea was to empower an urban *poor*, alienated (read: black) public with policy-making powers in small manageable community school districts. In this case, the school profession managed to stave off such a transfer of power. Both in New York City and Detroit, school decentralization has not decentralized much.

In New York City, the school decentralization law was a disaster. The State Legislature in 1969, under teacher union pressure after the strike at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, enacted a bill that made it sufficiently difficult for the poor to vote for local boards, and invested diluted powers in the boards. The result was that the public school boards in the city were captured mostly by Catholics, hoping to funnel public funds to parochial schools, and by union-backed candidates, intent on preserving the school system as much as possible.

The typical board member was precisely the type the school reformers did not want: a white male Catholic professional with children in parochial schools. Contrast that with the black poor female with children in public school who sat on the experimental Ocean Hill-Brownsville school board. No wonder that a heavily Catholic new community board banned Piri Thomas' acclaimed autobiography *Down These Mean Streets* from its school libraries, because of "obscenity." The school decentralization law proved a step backward. Nearly two-thirds of board members are middle class; half are Catholic and over a third Jewish. Over half have children in parochial schools. This in a system serving 57.4 percent black and Puerto Rican children.

Yet, there has been little protest. The education writers of the influential *New York Times*, for example, barometers of public opinion, consider "decentralization" a success; their definition hinging on the lack of student disturbances in the schools. Like the traditional classroom, quiet and orderliness imply a functioning system to the unobservant.

In Detroit, a similar emasculated decentralization bill was passed by the state legislature. Again, in a heavily black (63 percent) and poor city, of the eight regional boards, 70 percent of board members are white and 60 percent are middle-class professionals. Nor is there much agitation on the horizon. Indeed, many now question whether the poor can or have ever been educated in American public schools. A

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decade that began with Jerome Bruner's optimism that any child can be educated closed with Arthur Jensen's pessimism that poor blacks were congenitally inferior.

Katz reflects some of this ambivalence. He is for "both decentralization and integration," as if these two objectives could be—or were—pursued at the same time. He depicts the end of the third reform movement, yet urges that "the time has come" to save the schools. He cajoles "people to ask no more of schools today than they did a hundred and twenty-five years ago," then contradictorily adds that "even the schools [then] were asked to do the impossible."

And, most important, he gives the pessimists reinforcement in his belief that the public schools did well only by the affluent. There is mounting evidence that the Jewish and Chinese poor succeeded in the public schools in the last century. However, the reasons for this achievement are not yet clear. Further study and research are required. Surely, there were no superior innate abilities, implying reverse racism.

Perhaps, in the case of the Jews, school achievement was heavily influenced by religion and anti-Semitism. Judaism required that every Jew learn to read the bible. And European anti-Semitism deprived Jews of the right to own land, thus, closing off one avenue of escape from poverty. American anti-Semitism forced Jewish immigrants into the highly unstable garment and entertainment industries, while Chinese immigrants were given the "women's work" of cleaning and cooking. Even this theory, that discrimination patterns influenced group motivations, however, is not only yet to be fully documented but is not entirely satisfactory. Most probably, other important relationships had bearing on school motivation and achievement. It reflects the sad state of our scholarship that we know precious little on the whys and wherefores of learning among different ethnic groups.

Such scholarship should not be easily dismissed. Our social science has immense policy implications. The work of Jensen and Edward Banfield, for example, has had immense impact on the present domestic policy. And Katz perceptively assesses the value of education to a more liberal government not intent on serious and deep social change:

> An official ideology that emphasizes the importance of free enterprise and shuns state intervention has limited alternatives with which to approach major social problems, such as poverty. Massive income redistribution or broad-scale intervention in the economy generally has not been acceptable. Education, on the other hand, had appeared to be an immediate and effective solution to social problems. . . . The illnesses of the society become diagnosed as simply a lack of education, and the prescription for reform becomes more education . . . this approach to social reform simply has not worked.

Certainly, that was true of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society of which the cornerstone was more schooling. As an ex-school teacher enamored of reform through schools, his creative federalism was most evident in education. Johnson put the schools on the federal map with his barrage of educational legislation; the most important of which was the first national educational act designed for the poor and a poverty program which sought to give poor children an educational "head start." Trying to find "non-socialist approaches to social reform," the architect of the Great Society merely charted half-way measures. Yet, given the ' ɔsocial context of this nation, even that adventure proved bold.

Yet these socialist implications must now be considered. We know that the poor achieve in an Israeli Kibbutz, a Cuban state boarding school and the U. S. Army. Surely, as Bruno Bettelheim pointed out in his book *Children of the Dream*, this scholastic achievement comes at some painful emotional

MAURICE R. BERUBE *is Staff Associate at the Institute for Community Studies, Queens College. He co-directed the report on school decentralization for New York State's Fleischmann Commission.*

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cost to youngsters. Still, they are sufficiently prepared for the harsh edges life has to offer. In a sense, the day-care movement could prelude a voluntary federally supported boarding-school system for the poor.

Of course, immense change in the educational distribution of this nation would have to occur. Even short of socialism, such a realignment would first mean dispensing with state interference in urban education. Educational power was vested by a rural continental America in the various states rather than in a national government and the cities. That has enabled basically rural and anti-city legislators to bypass urban needs. Even the polarization in New York City over community control would not have prevented a meaningful decentralization law from passing the city council; it had no hope of clearing a rural and suburban-minded state house. The tragedy of Attica, for example, was that it was an urban prison located in rural America and administered by anti-city folks.

Circumvention of the state houses, essentially, was the political genius of Johnson's poverty program. Moreover, creative federalism assumed the inability of state power to solve the problems of their cities. The Nixon Administration, on the other hand, has sought to revive sagging state government.

One must be cautious on using history. Historical analogies sometimes mislead. Katz, for instance, scores the democratic localists of the 1800s (yesterday's radical reformers) as being romantic and unrealistic in their response to school needs. The trouble with democratic localism was that it appeared divisive just when the great immigrations would require more of a melting pot approach. But Jacksonian America bears almost no resemblance to 1970 America. That society was smaller, agrarian and far from alienated. And today's subcultures are necessary in a mass impersonal technocracy.

Are there historical lessons? Katz shows that, so far, school reform has always been but a part of a larger movement to improve society. Yet one can expect that small core of radical reformers to continue pressing their claim on the schools, rather than wait for the next tide of social reform. Meanwhile, Katz's book is sure to stimulate much thought; especially for those who were part of that last effort.

SDS: A Profile

ALAN ADELSON

Scribner's, $10

STU COHEN

My college years spanned the period between Berkeley's Free Speech Movement and the Columbia sit-in. These were major years in the growth and development of the Students for a Democratic Society. "Participatory democracy" was the key phrase on leaflets and a favorite button said, "a free society—sds." Four years later, many demonstrations and busts later, the buttons proclaimed, "smash the state." "Participatory democracy" was replaced with "democratic centralism" and the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

Several doors down from my apartment lived some of the leaders of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, the Communist Party youth group. They, and many other members, were friends of mine. Many close friends were members of SDS and some others were in the Progressive Labor Party. Perhaps that was one of the reasons why I could never bring myself to join any particular group, although participating in actions with each of them. Or perhaps, like a great many unaffilliated radicals, it was just an inability to completely agree with any one group. In any event, I found myself in a rather interesting position, both close to these organizations and still somewhat removed. It was an excellent vantage point from which to view the jousts of competing ideologies. Such contests, in which various dogmas battled for the title of "correct line," always had a slightly absurd air about them. At the same time, however, these were serious

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concerns in the growth of the student left during the sixties. This is part of the background that I bring to Alan Adelson's book, *SDS*, and it is part of the reason why I find that book unsatisfactory.

Adelson's book is an attempt to provide a coherent, partisan profile of the Students for a Democratic Society, as that organization proceeds through the second decade of its existence. This is a very different SDS from that of my college days. It is also a different SDS from the one so heavily publicized by the media, and Adelson is at great pains to make that distinction clear. He attempts to set out where SDS is now, how it got there, and who is part of the organization. The book's structure is dictated by these aims.

Adelson has divided his work into three sections. The first of these concentrates on several contemporary battles that have been waged by SDS. The bulk of this section deals with Columbia University before, during, and after Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. One chapter is devoted to the anti-ROTC fight at Berkeley. The next section deals with the people of SDS. There are generalized descriptions, vignettes, and case histories of these "children of the nightmare." Also in these chapters are descriptions of working style and methods of operation. The last group of chapters deals with the history and prospects of the organization.

SDS is an engagingly written book. Adelson was a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* for a time and his style is light, breezy, and journalistic. He carries the reader along from descriptive paragraph to paragraph. There is a constant stream of events, excitingly portrayed with large doses of conversation and anecdote. It is also an engaged book. Adelson makes no bones about where his sympathies lie. He believes very much in what SDS is doing and wants to bring his readers to the same level of appreciation. The warm, personal style with which he makes his arguments is a definite asset in such a quest.

While *SDS* benefits from the strengths of Adelson's obvious talent, it also suffers from the weaknesses of much contemporary journalism. The breezy informality often treads a thin line beyond which is a kind of cute glibness that surfaces too frequently. A much more serious shortcoming is the superficiality with which Adelson discusses (or fails to discuss) ideas and conflicting ideologies.

In what must be an attempt to avoid boring or confusing his readers with too much intellectual baggage, Adelson goes in for pithy one-line definitions. Thus, "what SDS means when it uses the label 'imperialism' " is the "normal, supposedly 'healthy' growth of American business in overseas areas." Allied concepts like "exploitation" receive equally short shrift although again we are assured that "this is what SDS means." The most absurd case of such oversimplification of ideas is Adelson's notion of dialectical materialism:

> The Left's whole approach to analyzing society and bringing about change is based on a concept of opposites in conflict. Marx and Engels called it 'dialectical materialism'. . . . The world is made up of two groups, they say: the forces that rule and the forces that are oppressed and must fight for liberation. Any significant force in the world works either in the interest of one group or the other, they say. (p. 225)

I never knew it was so simple? So much for ideas.

The failure to discuss conflicting ideologies is most glaringly obvious in the book's third section. In it, Adelson attempts a history of SDS. It is a history, however, essentially written in terms of names. A curious history, indeed, for an organization as riddled with conflicting world views as SDS. The trick is accomplished by reducing those ideologies so that they become parodies and can easily be brushed aside. Progressive Labor believes this, Weatherman believes that, and RYM II believes the other. The cast of characters is listed and described; the play may begin.

In the end, Adelson's glorification of the current SDS and his inability, or refusal, to discuss its ideological history

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in any meaningful way leave him with an uncritical acceptance of the Progressive Labor (Worker-Student Alliance) vision. This is not the place to go into the question of whether this particularly rigid brand of dogma is relevant to 20th century America but it is something that the book should have considered.

The need has long existed for an in-depth, critical analysis and history of the Students for a Democratic Society. That need still goes unmet.

Whose Land Is Palestine?

FRANK H. EPP

Eerdmans, $6.95

Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom

WALTER ZANDER
Praeger, $8.50

MICHAEL ZEIK

It's always a special kind of intellectual joy to sit down with a book which, on some highly controversial, emotionally-charged subject, attempts to avoid the easier channels of propaganda and sarcasm in favor of some hard objective thinking. Both of these books make the attempt. One, *Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom,* succeeds better than the other. But both make the attempt—which in itself is something of a victory, given the heated nature of the issues.

The first work considers the vexed question of who has the more just claim to the Holy Land, Arab or Jew. Mennonites have a tradition of pacifism; and the Canadian Mennonite author, Frank Epp, abhors in particular the violence that has disfigured the Holy Land throughout the centuries. None of the three major Western faiths comes off unscathed. Christian, Muslim, and Jew alike, says Epp, made an unholy trinity out of geography, deity, and folk. Thus, he continues, the Jews became napalm-dropping Zionists; the Christians, bloody crusaders; and the Arabs, murderous guerrillas: "All of them made too sacred too small a piece of land . . . which was never intended to promote so much unholy carnage in the name of the holy gods."

I would agree with the author that the various historical claims to the land are by now so numerous and so complicated that they tend to cancel each other out. Do the Jewish claims go back thousands of years to the time of Abraham? Well, as much time elapsed between the dawn of civilization and the coming of Abraham, as between the time of Abraham till the present.

On the other hand, if the Arabs claim the *latest* right to the land, having been born there (as opposed to the Jews who merely immigrated there), they will soon be confronted with the fact that very shortly most Israelis will have been born to the soil, while the Arab will have the status of emigrants seeking to return to a land they once held. So much for the ironies of a very complicated situation.

Epp feels that Christians ought to be the peacemakers between Moslem and Jew. Not only have they the opportunity, but they have also the responsibility. For Christians have, in a way, been doubly anti-Semitic: first against the Jews, in driving them barbarously from one country of Europe to another, until their final near-annihilation by Nazi Germany; and then, he says, against the Arabs (also Semites), whose homeland Christians took away to salve their guilt vis-à-vis the Jews.

Moreover, peace is still possible. The author quotes the Israeli writer, Uri Avneri, who points out that Frenchmen and Germans, who for so long a time decimated one another, today live at peace with one another.

It is the thesis of this book that justice lies in allowing the Jews now in Israel to remain, and in allowing the Palestinians now absent to return. All further Jewish immigration must cease. Jews now persecuted in Soviet Russia, Syria, Iraq and other countries must be welcomed by the Christian nations of the world.

One must respect Epp's sincerity, but his proposed solutions do not seem very realistic. To admit a large number

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of embittered Arabs back into Israel would almost certainly generate more of the bloodshed that the author wants to terminate. True, the French and Germans live in peace today, but not in the same country. Further, to throw the Jews now persecuted in Communist and Arab lands to the mercy of the "Christian nations," is to return to the situation of prewar Europe. If England, France and the United States would not absorb the Jewish refugees then, how can the Jews believe they would do it today?

One sentence in particular stands out as being something less than objective. Listen to the subordinate clause in the following sentence: *"Whatever the Jews themselves may have contributed to the discrimination, persecution, and extermination policies of which they were the target,* there can be and must be no doubt that they have been terribly wronged." Have Jews indeed been so much more wicked than Canadian Mennonites that they contributed to the extermination of six million of their own people? That is a remarkably unfeeling sentence which Mr. Epp's manuscript editor should have spotted at once.

As I said above, both Mr. Epp and Mr. Zander try to be objective. In my opinion, it is Zander who succeeds. To be sure, the problem he attacks, control over the holy places, is less broad than the problem of the first work, but it is a sufficiently vexed question in itself.

After a brief but reliable summary of the nature of the Christian attachment to the Holy Places, together with an account of how Eastern and Western Christendom, and the Ottoman Empire, all schemed and struggled over these sites, Zander focuses in on the contemporary situation.

In our own times we are faced with several new alternatives not previously possible with regard to control of the holy places in Israel—principally the alternative of international control. Many proposals for such control have been voiced in the last few years. All of these recent proposals are ultimately based on the premise that the United Nations would be the ideal agency for dealing with a matter of such delicacy and universal interest. How else, these proposals argue, can we transcend volatile local politics and bring a stable settlement to the control of the holy sites?

But Zander points out that within the three-year period, 1947-1950, the U.N. voted three times on the question of jurisdiction over the holy places, and came up with three different verdicts. Even the United States voted once for internationalization, once against, and once abstained. A vote in the United Nations today clearly revolves less around religious sensitivities and distributive justice than around the harsh facts of global power politics. For this and other reasons—the U.N., for instance, was not formed to resolve religious problems—Zander concludes that that political body is not an appropriate instrument for solving the problems of the Holy Places.

On Sept. 24, 1969, however, Pope Paul VI sent a message to King Hassan II of Morocco, a message which the author believes initiated a new approach to the question. The message read in part:

> If, in fact, recourse to violence is deplorable everywhere, there is nowhere in the world where it is more injurious to God than in this blessed land of Palestine where are assembled the Heads and the justly cherished sanctuaries of the three great religious groups professing belief in a unique and merciful God.
>
> We therefore think that the representatives of the three monotheistic religions should agree to the unique and sacred character of the Holy Places and of Jerusalem in particular. The recourse to religious sentiment, far from perpetuating divisions, ought to manifest itself as a unifying principle that can overcome political or military antagonisms and lead to concord and peace.

Zander feels that this approach of ecumenical cooperation is a promising one, although undoubtedly impractical for the time being. Muslims would not agree at this moment to meet with Jewish officials who would almost certainly be Zionist in their political convictions.

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For the present, the author concludes, the Holy Places of all three faiths must remain under the jurisdiction of the legitimate government of the area—the same arrangement that has prevailed for a thousand years. (The author might well have added that the Jews have been more even-handed in allowing access to the Holy Places of other faiths, than have either the Christians during their short occupancy, or the Muslims, during their long one.) But at a future time, when a peaceful settlement has been obtained in the Middle East, Zander does hope for ecumenical jurisdiction over the sacred sites, and even for a Muslim-Jewish "condominium" of the Old City of Jerusalem.

Perhaps Mr. Zander is too sanguine here. And yet, when I visited the Muslim shrine of the Golden Dome in the Old City a year ago, I remember being ordered to take off my shoes by Arab police. If in time of guerrilla attack and a near-war situation, the Israelis are willing to allow the Muslim shrines to be policed by Arabs, perhaps, given a secure overall peace settlement, they would even agree to something like "condominium" of the Old City. But, it seems to me, the world should remember two things about such a "condominium" arrangement: one, it is no small thing to ask of Israel; and two, the Arabs never considered it when they were in power.

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

themselves less convincing than in the past. Those who stress class interests and economics tend to overlook the profound search for identity and dignity pursued by millions of lower-middle-class Americans just as intensely as by college students. Those who stress "new priorities" and "new federal programs" tend to misapprehend the self-defeating nature of bureaucracies and castes of professionals. Those who stress "community control" and "power to the people" fail to recognize that a huge,

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● BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, Trinity College, Burlington, Vermont 05401. JUNE 18-23. Anderson, Bennett, Cathcart, Collins, Duncker, Murphy-O'Connor. Write: Director.

Creative Teaching

● CREATIVE ENVIRONMENT: A WORKSHOP on teaching values in present structures. Designed for all persons interested in creative programs of education in values. Resource persons: Gerard Pottebaum, Rick Woods, Merrill Harmon, Brian Hall and others. June 18-24, 1972. Fee $100. Board and Room $40. Academic credit. At Marian College, co-sponsored by Catholic Seminary Foundation. Write to: CREATIVE ENVIRONMENT, Catholic Seminary Foundation, 4545 Northwestern Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46208.

African Institute

● SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. Summer Institute, 19 June-14 July, 1972. Designed for Christians, religious and lay, who anticipate working in Africa. Details from Dr. Peter Walshe, African Studies, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

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complicated society requires long-range planning, many coalitions and a pluralistic awareness of who "the people" are.

The political leader of the left who can lead the left toward the new front line may create from the present turmoil a new progressive politics for the rest of the decade. That new front line is the lower-middle-class white. Whoever best gives voice (*vox populi*) to their pain, and organizes them politically, will govern us for some time to come.

That pain is not only economic; it is also a hunger for cultural identity. Ethnicity alone is not enough; neither is economics alone. The politics of the 1970's require the left to alter its direction and its central constituency, but not its progressive momentum. For the rednecks and the PIGS are not less moral, or less progressive, than academics or journalists; only, they speak out of a different experience and different real needs. They do not have the same sorts of power.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 101)

bread and butter but an end to a degrading existence.

It would be a tragic error for the rest of us to see this merely as youthful hijinks, or (worse yet) as one more remote and tiresome contest between "Big Labor" and "Big Business." The young workers of Lordstown are reminding all of us who may have forgotten, that the man who works for a living with his hands is not simply a beer-swilling right-winger, but a feeling human being as entitled to sympathy and support when he rebels as any student protestor. They are raising the question of work not simply as a strike issue but as a public issue—which is (as I have been arguing for some years) precisely what it is, despite the reluctance of the politicians and the media to face up to it.

The politicians prefer to wax oratorial over non-issues (busing for busing's sake, Ms versus Miss or Mrs., etc.); in this election year we ought to be asking them exactly where they stand on the question of human rights in the industrial workplace. The implications are too vast to be resolved in one isolated plant.

As for the media, they resolutely continue to turn their backs to the real world of the ordinary man. Only David Brinkley, to my knowledge, has been attempting from time to time to call attention to the life problems of the still-neglected young American production worker. My own book, *On The Line*, which Mr. Gibbons used as a springboard to the matter at hand, is at present absolutely unavailable both to the general public and to the Lordstown workers whose lives I should hope it might help to illuminate; both hardcover and paperback publishers have permitted it to go out of print, and it remains so despite the requests I continue to receive for non-existent copies from students, teachers, and workers.

HARVEY SWADOS

REVIEWERS

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MICHAEL ZEIK teaches in the Oriental Studies Department at Marymount College in Tarrytown, N.Y.

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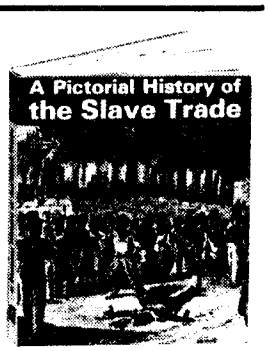

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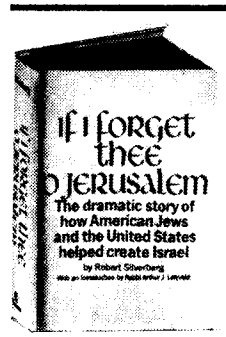

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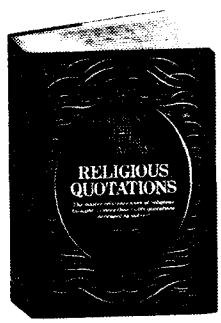

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